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A true STATE of the CASE of the *Common-wealth*, in reference to the late eſtabliſhed *Government* by a LORD PROTECTOR and a PARLIAMENT.

Eeing it hath pleaſed GOD, after many various & wonderful Turns of Affairs, (occaſioned through the continual oppoſitions of his, and his Peoples enemies on the one ſide, banding themſelves againſt the Rights and Liberties of this Nation; and on the other ſide, through the Corruption and Apoſtaſie of particular Perſons, who have from time to time been intruſted in the Supream Authority) at length to fix the Government of theſe Dominions in the preſent Form of Eſtabliſhment: As it is a matter much beyond the expectation of thoſe whom He hath uſed as inſtruments in the whole courſe of his Providence, and of admiration to the world; ſo it affords abundant cauſe of praiſe and thankſgiving, that thoſe great Changes and Revolutions which have been in the midſt of us, have not engaged us in blood among our ſelves, nor expoſed us for a prey and ſpoil to the Common Enemy, who watcheth all advantages and opportunities to promote the ruine of that Intereſt, which the Lord himſelf hath owned by many glorious

Deliverances in the behalf of our Nation: for no other Reason can be imagined of the happy peace and tranquility which we now enjoy, but that He who stretched out the Heavens, and laid the foundations of the Earth, and formeth the spirit of Man within him, hath brought forth these things, as the accomplishment of his own good will and purpose toward his People; who have been carried on by a Divine hand, through many admirable difficulties and successes, in all the conflicts they have had with the Enemies of their Peace and Liberty.

And as such Dispensations as these cannot be lookt upon, by the most envious eye or profane heart, as the birth and product of any fore-laid Contrivements of men, biassed with corrupt and carnal interest; So we have a great ground of hope and confidence, that the Lord, in whose hands is our breath and life, and all our wayes; hath been shaking and moving foundations in these Lands, not to overturn, but to establish this *Commonwealth* upon a better and more sure *Basis* of Government, than hath been enjoyed by our Ancestors for many Generations. And truly, we cannot but profess our selves very much raised with hopes and apprehensions of this nature, as often as we reflect upon the Resolutions lately taken for the settlement of these Nations, and exposed in Print to the view of the World: which doubtless being considered in themselves, and compared with the best of former Governments, do not only exceed the wishes and expectations of those men, who cast an eye of prejudice upon all the Actions and Proceedings of the present Governours, and are sorry to see persons whom they hate and maligne, become Instruments of any good; but we conceive also, that being weighed in an equal ballance they do in substance, and upon a true account, fully correspond with the primary Ends and Intentions of such as engaged in the late Controversie with the King, upon principles of common Freedom, and have

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not since been drawn aside through the subtilties of Satan (leading them captive by a deluded phansie) to promote the things they have not seen; or not designed peculiar advantages of their own some other way, and calculated their particular Interests for another kind of Government: From neither of which any great compliance with the present can be expected, until the one Party awake out of their dreams of an imaginary Paradise, and the other find a door open'd again to their private Interest and advantage. And therefore, though we apprehend it would be time ill spent, to endeavour the reducing of such men by dint of Reason and Argument; yet in regard divers doubts may seem to arise in the minds of some sober men concerning the present Change, (especially now when the Age aboundswith calumny, and our Enemies make it their business by cunning insinuations to draw away the hearts of the Well-affected from their best Friends;) as if we had turned our backs upon our former Principles, and introduced again that very thing, which was the great Bone of contention, (the removal whereof seemed to include the very state of the Quarrel between the late King and the Parliament) and so fought our selves round till we rest upon the old bottom, and in conclusion given judgment against our selves in all the things contended for against the King; hereupon we have thought meet, in all meekness and moderation, to present our Judgment to the publick view, and offer such Particulars to others as may (through the blessing of God) be a ground of satisfaction to them, as well as to our selves; being fully perswaded in our own breasts, as to the present Form of Government, that such cautions and limitations are therein described as make due and full provision for the Peoples Liberties, and those just Rights, the maintenance whereof hath bin so religiously prosecuted in the late War; & that it contains nothing contrary to, or inconsistant with

those good purposes and principles, held forth by the Parliament and Army in their several Declarations; but is clearly justifiable both by them and by right Reason, according to the practises and proceedings hitherto owned by the Parliament themselves, the Army, and all the well-affected party, in several alterations upon the like occasions of necessity.

Now in order to the clearing of these things, we conceive it requisite, first, to consider, what was the Original Ground of our taking Arms, and upon what Foot that Quarrel stood: And then in the second place, how it came to pass that the Army were constrained divers times to declare and interpose themselves after an extraordinary manner, in prosecuting our first principles; through the many great changes of Affairs and revolutions of Government; touching which we shall not here take upon us to dispute by inches, the occasions of our Change into a Free-State or Commonwealth, and the several Tendencies thereunto; nor shall we run over all those particulars in Discourse at large, seeing they are matters well known to the godly People of this Nation (whose satisfaction we principally intend) and have heretofore been declared at full; but we shall content our selves only with a summary repetition of the main particulars, so far as is necessary to evince the equity of their then-proceeding, and give light to clear the way of our following Discourse; in all which we doubt not but it will manifestly appear, that they were concerned out of conscience and duty, to acquit themselves as they did; unless they would have stood still, as idle spectators or parties unconcerned, while men of loose or debauched principles & corrupt minds, were perfidiously contriving the publick ruine, contracting new Interests and parties contrary to the old, and absolutely destructive to all the primitive points insisted upon.

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I. And first, as concerning the original ground of our first engaging in the War, We shall take leave to premise this one Thing for an unquestionable Truth; That we never fought, nor was it ever declared by the Parliament or Army, that we took up Arms for, or against any particular Form of Government whatsoever. Look over all the Declarations, Remonstrances, and Protestations made by either, and it will appear that we never fought against the King as King; nor for the Parliament or Representative consider'd purely as such: But we took up Arms against the King because he demeaned himself as a Tyrant, and had projected a wicked design of introducing his own Will and Power above Law; and for the Parliament or Representative, because it seemed to be the likeliest and best means (as Affairs then stood) to prevent those manifold evils which threatned the Kingdom, and to preserve the Liberties of the People. And therefore (we say) Government under this or that Form, was not the moving Cause of this great Controversie, but those common ends of safetie and Freedom, for which all sorts of Governments were instituted and oppointed. Yea, and it must here be remember'd, that even at that time, when the Army put forth that Remonstrance from St *Albans*, which usher'd in the King to the Bar of Justice, they had not then entertained any thoughts of excluding Government by Kings, provided they were *Elective*. And as for the King himself, there appeared not the least intentions to cast him off, till he had quite cast off the People, and would admit no reconciliation but upon his own Terms, such as must necessarily have frustrated those righteous ends of our first Engaging. Moreover, whosoever shall take a serious view of all the Papers that have been made publick, to set forth the grounds of the War, shall ever find, that the main Point insisted on by the Parliament & Army in their many Declarations, was, *The bringing Delinquents to condign punishment, the maintenance of the*

Laws and Liberties of the Land, and of the due succession of Parliament. This was the Soul that animated their whole Undertaking, which was not by them intended to quarrel at the Kingly Form then Established, but to regulate the disorders & excesses of the King & his Government, and reduce him within the due bounds of Authority; that he might not accomplish that design which had been the business of his whole Reign, *viz.* the advancement of his own and his Successors Will and Power, against the publick Interest of the Nation. Hence it was, that his legal Interest was still admitted in all Declarations, and his just Power and greatness provided for in them, and in the *Covenant*; but with this remarkable restriction or special Limitation, [*In the Preservation of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms*] and the said Declarations still directed us to the equitable sense of all Laws and Constitutions as dispensing with the very Letter of the same, and being supream to it when the safety of all is concerned.

II. And therefore in the second place, that it may plainly appear, what just cause both the Parliament and Army had to recede from the Letter of their former Professions towards the Kings Person and Family, and how they were (through his default) necessitated to give way to the subsequent Alterations, we shall onely in general terms set down a brief Account of Things in reference to that great business, and to the several changes that have followed since, out of which the necessity and Justness of the present Change will in some measure appear.

When after the expence of much precious bloud, and many Treaties to no purpose, it was clearly found by experience, that the King was obstinately and irrecoverably engaged in the prosecution of such Courses as portended nothing but speedy ruine to the Kingdom, and rendred him utterly irreconcilable to the Parliament in their just Addresses and demands; so that there was no possibility of a settlement

settlement by him in any way that might answer the Trust repoſed in them by their Country. And in regard there was a Corrupt Party prevailing afterward in Parliament, who had declined the true declared Intereſt, and deſigned to re-inveſt him with the exerciſe of Kingly Power, without any competent Security, or reaſonable Proviſion for the declared Rights and Liberties of the People, or for thoſe that had faithfully engaged in the maintenance of them: Theſe things being conſidered, with the calamities and deſolations inevitably drawing on, unleſs ſome immediate and extraordinary remedy were found to obviate the deſign; it pleaſed God at length to excite ſuch as remained faithful both in Parliament and Army, by a ſeaſonable Interpoſition to give a ſtop to theſe mens Intentions; And ſeeing it was impoſſible to ſecure the Intereſt of Religion and Liberty, with reſpect had any longer to the King himſelf, he was utterly laid aſide, the Conſideration of thoſe great Ends being ſuperior to the dignity of his Perſon.

Now, as this firſt moſt remarkable Alteration in the Parliamentary Affairs, was not onely juſt and honorable in it ſelf, but eſteemed ſo, and therefore avowed by the honeſt and well-affected of the Nation, and neceſſitated by the inconſtancie of that Party of men in Parliament, who (contrary to their truſt) would have yielded up the precious Concernments of the People as to Religion and Liberty, together with the Parliament it ſelf, unto the meer will and power of the King; (yea. and this when he had ſtood it out to the laſt, and was within the power of the Army:) So alſo, when after his neceſſary Impriſonment, in order to the ſecurity and peace of the Nation, it was obſerved, that though he had alter'd his condition, he retained his old obſtinate mind and reſolution; and it appeared moreover by experience, what an Influence he ſtill held upon the Parliament as then conſtituted; inſomuch that being encouraged by Inſurrexions and Commotions

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In all parts of the Kingdom, they designed to bring him in upon a Treaty: And though in the Terms of that Treaty very little respect was had to the just ends of the Quarrel, and the Prince, his Son, then in the revolting Ships at Sea, disavowed all that should be done, and declared his Father as a Prisoner in no condition to Treat; yet so lost and loose were that Party of man to all former Principles, that his restauration was in a manner concluded, and oportunity enough intended him to break all Bonds of Agreement, and re-settle himself in an absolute arbitrary power, over the Consciences and Liberties of the People. All which being laid together, as also, that the bloudy imbroilments in the year 1648. and the Invasion of *Hamilton*, were to be put upon his Account; that by this means he had involved himself and Family afresh in the guilt of Bloud; and that both He, and his Wife and Children, had for ever espoused an Interest of their own, destructive to the Rights of the Kingdom; then the Affairs of the Nation being driven to the utmost Point of necessity the *Parl.* were (in prudence) to look no farther for satisfaction, as formerly, in the way of demanding our Rights; but concerned (in conscience) to think of satisfying Divine Justice, by offering him up a Sacrifice for the crie of innocent bloud, and afterwards to take care for an establishment some other way, for the safety and freedom of our Nation: And therefore in those after actings toward the next great Alteration, when they exterminated his Family and altered the Government, they were every way to be justified in point of Conscience and Prudence, (notwithstanding former Declarations) for as much as a Kingly Family and Office are but of a secondary consideration to the security of a Kingdom, and all Forms of Civil Administration (being as the Shell to the Kernel) are subordinate and inferior to the ends of Government; so that if these cannot otherwise be attained, there follows an unavoidable necessity of altering the Form.

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The Government then of this Nation being (through neceſſity) alter'd, and at length eſtabliſhed in the way of a Free-State or Common-wealth in the hands of the *Parliament*, both the Army and People were content to acquieſce therein, and continued languiſhing year after year, in hope at laſt to have taſted thoſe Fruits of Freedom, which ſeemed to ſhoot forth and flouriſh in the Bud, at the beginning of that Eſtabliſhment: But when after the intercurrence of divers years, all our hopes were blaſted, in regard particular Members became ſtudious of Parties and private Intereſts, neglecting the publick; and by reaſon of their dilatory Proceedings in the Houſe, and unlimited arbitrary deciſions at Committees, wholly perverted the end of *Parliaments*; ſo that the people being delayed (and ſo in effect denied) Anſwers to their Petitions, no dore being open for the redreſs of Grievances, nor any hope of eaſing the people of their burthens it was found at length by experience, that a ſtanding *Parliament* was it ſelf the greateſt Grievance; which appeared yet the more exceeding'ly grievous, in regard of a viſible deſign, carried on by ſome among them to have perpetuated the power in their own hands, inſomuch that they never made any the leaſt ſhew of a new Repreſentative or *Parliament*, till they underſtood that the Army were reſolved to end their ſitting. Then it was, and not before, that they brought on their *Bill for a new Repreſentative*; and this meerly out of deſign too, that they might have had ſome ſhadow of Pretext to thwart or ſcandalize that moſt neceſſary work of Diſſolution by the Army. But notwithſtanding, admit that they had been real in their Intentions, for the putting a period to their own Authority (as was pretended) and giving way to a ſucceſſion by the promoting of that *Bill*; yet conſidering the very form of ſucceſſive *Parliaments* deſcribed therein, intending that the Supream Authority ſhould be lodged in *Biennial Parliaments*,

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and that they ſhould have power to ſit to make Laws, and Govern from two years to two years ſucceſſively, (keeping by that means the Supream Legiſlative power alwaies in being) the evil conſequences thereof both in reſpect of freedom and ſafety, are diſcernable to every eye, and would have proved a remedy worſe than the diſeaſe. For beſides the infinite number of Laws which would have bin Enacted by the conſtant ſitting of the Supream Authority, that in a few years no man could have told how to have behaved himſelf, either in reſpect of his life or eſtate, (as is known by experience of the laſt *Parliament*, who made more Laws then had been in ſome hundreds of years before) the Supream Powers of making Laws, and of putting them in execution, were by that Bill to have been diſpoſed in the ſame hands; which placing the *Legiſlative* and *executive Powers* in the ſame perſons, is a marvellous In-let of Corruption and Tyranny: whereas the keeping of theſe two apart, flowing in diſtinct Channels, ſo that they may never meet in one (ſave upon ſome tranſitory extraordinary occaſion) there lies a grand Secret of Liberty and good Government: And though it be of a dangerous import, that they ſhould both reſt in the hand of any ſingle perſon, excluding the Community; yet the conſequents are abundantly more pernicious, when they are graſped by many: becauſe as a particular perſon is eaſily noted for his exceſſes; ſo particular offenders find ſhelter, in a Multitude, when whatſoever they Act uſually paſſeth in the name of the whole Body; by which means, in effect, they become unaccountable for abuſes in Government. And how eaſily ſuch abuſes might have been juſtified in a Parliamentary way, is apparent enough; ſeeing an opportunity was given in that Bill, to the next, or any ſucceeding *Parliament* (no manner of balance or Check being reſerved upon them) by claiming an abſolute Authority to be in themſelves, for ever to have continued

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the power (if they pleased) in their own hands, upon pretentions of safety; by which means the People must either wholly have lost their Liberty, or been involved again in Bloud, to remove the one, and redeem the other; for, it is very evident, how prone men in Power are to keep up themselves, even from the carriage of the late *Parliament*, which, had it been left to it self, would unquestionably have sat for ever.

And therefore it was the wisdom of our Ancestors, so to temper the Government of our Nation in time past, that they left the Supream *Law-making Power* among the people in *Parliament*, to sit at some times, and betrusted the *Execution of Law*, with the mysteries of Government, in the hands of a single person and his Council. But the Leaders of the *Parliament*, steering another Course in their *Biennial Bill*, did set open a wide door to the aforesaid Inconveniences, in that ominous Scheam of Government by them propounded. And thereby, as also by their own miscarriages, made it manifest to the judgments of the most sober and well-affected People that nothing of settlement or satisfaction could be expected from them, in order to the remedy of growing evils and necessities, or to the preservation of the chief ends of the late War. And in truth, it being utterly impossible in that corrupted State, through long continuance in an unaccountable condition of Authority, that they who made it the main of their business to exercise an arbitrary power in Committes, and promote parties and Factions among themselves, and were like in a short time to overwhelm the ancient Liberties and Properties of the People, and encrease their vexations, through the multitude of unnecessary Laws (many of which were made upon occasion of, and to serve and suit with the Concernments and Interests of particular Members,) should become the Instruments of our long-desired establishment; And seeing no regard was had to the many

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humble sollicitations of the Army, applyed to the most considerable Members of the House, that others might succeed in their places, to perfect that good work which we had with so much patience expected; therefore it became an Act no less pious then necessary, for the Army to interpose upon the same equitable grounds as heretofore, in like cases of extremity, and (no ordinary *medium* being left) to provide for the Main, in a way irregular and extraordinary, by a timely Dissolution; the consideration of the said ends of our Engagement, and of Government it self, being equally paramount to the priviledges of *Parliament*, as to the Prerogative and Persons of Kings.

And now the Army having proceeded thus far in that unaccustomed (yet most necessary) way of action, not without much regret and hazzard to themselves; whereas ill-minded men have taken occasion thereupon to blast the sincerity of that Act, as if it had been an unworthy consequence of some long fore laid Design upon grounds of of Policie; there needs (we suppose) no other confutation of that calumny, then a bare consideration of the irresolution and unpreparedness of the Army at that time, as to any particular way of Settlement. For, although the Army (out of the sense they had of the evils hanging over our heads, and which were like to encrease while the *Parliament* sate) had taken some consideration how to remedy the same, and had before had conference about it with several Members of *Parliament*; yet until they were actually dissolved, no Resolutions were taken in what Model to cast the Government; but it was after the said dissolution debated and discussed by the Officers of the Army, as *res integra*; the Question being then put, Whether the Power should be reserved in the hands of a few, or of greater number of persons, in order to an Establishment: It was conceived by some, that the former would prove the more effectual Mean; but by others, that

that the latter would be every jot as effectual, and besides bring this advantage along with it, that it would be much more satisfactory to the generality of the Army, and to the good people of the Nation: whereupon, the Officers being desirous (as much as in them lay) to promote a Succession of Supream Assemblies, in that form of a Free-State or Common-wealth which had been declared by Parliament, it was at length resolved to fall upon the latter, as being supposed the most rational way (considering all circumstances atending the constitution of affairs) to provide for the ease & satisfaction of the people: and in order hereunto, it was agreed likewise, that such persons should be called together out of the several Counties, as were reputed men fearing God, and of approved fidelity; in the choice of which persons such indifferencie was used, and so equal liberty allowed to all then present with the *General*, that every Officer enjoyed the same freedom of nomination, and the majority of suffrage carried it for the election of each single Member: By which means the supream Power of the Nation was devolved and be-trusted into the hands of those men thus elected, to all intents and purposes.

And truly, the hopes conceived, and expectations raised from the meeting of that Assembly, were neither few nor without ground; forasmuch as it was apprehended, the persons generally were men of godliness & honesty, and supposed to have a spirit as large as the intereſt of *Gods* people, (& surely many such there were among them) which Interest is doubtless of such a latitude, that all men who have the evidence of Regeneration, of Faith and Love, (though under different Forms, or not perswaded yet what Forms they ought to submit unto, by reason of the various disputes about them) and do neither apostatize from Forms and deride them, nor reject Christ in the Communion of Saints, nor slight the holy Scriptures, (which practises are altogether inconsistent with Godliness

ness should possess their Rights in an equal enjoyment of protection and liberty; And also, that men as men (notwithstanding the signs of Regeneration appear not in them) should enjoy the benefit of their respective Interests, whether in Articles of War, or any other Claims of a Civil cognizance. But on the contrary, it so fell out in a short time, that there appeared many in this Assembly of very contrary principles to the Interest aforesaid; which led them violently on to attempt and promote many things, the consequence whereof (however it might not be intended by the generality of them) would have been *A subverting the Fundamental Laws of the Land, the destruction of Propriety, and an utter extinguishing the Ministery of the Gospel.* In truth, their principles led them to a pulling down all and establishing nothing: So that instead of the expected Settlement, they were running out into meer Anarchy and confusion.

For the further clearing whereof, it will be convenient here to give a short Systeme of their Principles and actings, in reference 1 to *Religion*, 2 to the *Civil Rights* and *Laws* of the Nation, 3 to the *Army*; And though we take little pleasure in a discourse of this nature, which tends to a laying open the weakness and Failings of our Brethren; yet seeing it is for their sakes that we do it, who in popular disorders and confusions, will have the greatest share of misery and oppression; We conceive it very necessary to speak our knowledge therein, and shall proceed with all tenderness in the Relation, with intent (not to asperse any, but) onely to shew how far the Members Themselves were concerned in conscience and duty, to resolve upon the dissolution of that Assembly.

And first as to *Religion*, We must here (with grief of heart) remember; how often the profession of it, the Ordinances, and the very name of Christ was blasphemed, by fastening a mark of Antichristianism upon every

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thing they liked not; what severe Principles of *Imposition* were owned by those very men, who had so often heretofore declaimed against it, as that which hath been an occasion of spilling the Bloud of many Thousands of precious Saints, and would again (under stranger pretences) in a short time, have introduced a new Fury of persecution more high than ever; and by decrying all other ways to establish their own, have imposed a more than Antichristian Yoak upon the necks of believers. Hence it was that they unsainted every man, whose Conscience was not of the same size with their own, and condemned all as Enemies to Reformation who kept not an even pace with themselves in the House, or with the hot men at *Black-Fryers* Meeting, who pronounced all the Reformed Churches to be as the Outworks to *Babylon*, and that they must be taken down before there could be a coming at the main Fort. Thus they became Judges over their Brethren branding them as men of carnal and Antichristian spirits, opposers of the work of God, *&c.* because not of the same perswasion in the things held forth by them, though little was said to convince those that were contrary-minded: Nevertheless, they proceeded so far as to make this the Foundation of a Breach in the House, among persons of the same Faith, and under a high name for Religion; by which means themselves became the great obstructors of the work of Reformation and Settlement. And now if these things had been managed by them in a fair seeming course of Reason and Argument, there might (perhaps) have been a way open'd to give or receive satisfaction; but alas, that *imposing spirit* of theirs was actuated, by a more high and active spirit of Dreams and Phantasie, which set an end to reasoning, and led them out to a pretence of infalibillity in all their determinations; and what Influence this would have had in time upon mens Estates and Properties, is easily apprehended; seeing such a spirit as knows neither Bond nor Bound in things rational and

civil, would soon have urged their arbitrary Dictates and Decisions for Law as well as Gospel. Upon this account it was, that they and their followers presumed also, to declare the whole Ministry of the Nation *Antichristian*, and because those in power did not readily concur with them in the same opinion, they branded both the Governors and Government, as *Babylonish* and Antichristian; upon which supposition onely (without reasoning the matter) they would have pulled down the Ministry both root and branch; and their party abroad in Pulpits, uttering many peremptory predictions of the remove or downfall, both of the one and the other. And whereas it was conceived necessary by many of the House, that all satisfaction should be given to all the godly of the Nation, in reference to a reformation of the Ministry, by ejecting such as were scandalous, at length an Expedient was thought of and brought in from a Committee by way of Report; that Commissioners should be sent into each County; with power to enquire into the lives and Doctrines of Ministers, and remove such as were offensive, or scandalous to their holy profession; yet when the Question was put, it passed in the *Negative*; nothing would satisfie but the Ministers must down, and be turned out of all (both good and bad) to seek a subsistance for Themselves and their Families; which had been not onely a manifest invasion of their Rights, as civil men, and Members of the Commonwealth, and a grievous intrenchment upon the liberty of their Consciences, and of those who have been converted by their Ministry; but seeing also, that many, at the same instant when they pressed this exterpation, professed fully against the Magistrates power in any matters of Religion, and particularly that of placing or sending forth men to preach the Gospel, we cannot understand what hope there could be, of ever having a constant preaching Ministry re-settled in this Nation. And yet all the while, these men would have the world believe, that they are for

a Godly Ministry, for Liberty of Conscience, and that they abhor imposing upon their Brethren. But by these things you may see, what the consequents of their Principles would be touching Religion.

II. As to the *Laws* and *Civil Rights* of the Nation; When the point of Law came into consideration in the House, the one Party was for pruning away its exuberances and superfluities; the other, for a hewing down of the main Body: The more sober Judgments were for a regulation of the Law, by making it more succinct, intelligible, and certain, as also to remedy the abuses of it, and render it less tedious and chargeable to the People; yet nothing would serve the other, but a total eradication of the old, and introduction of a new: And so the good old Laws of *England* (the Guardians of our lives and Fortunes) established with prudence, and confirmed by the experience of many ages and generations (the preservation whereof was a principal Ground of our late Quarrel with the King) having been once abolished, what could we have expected afterward, but an inthroning of arbitrary Power in the Seats of Judicature, and an exposing of our Lives, our Estates, our Liberties, and all that is dear unto us, as a Sacrifice to the boundless appetite of meer Will and Pleasure. For, it hath been said of old; *The Law is that which puts a difference betwixt Good and Evil, betwixt Just and Unjust: If you once take away the Law, all things will fall into a confusion; every man will become a Law unto himself, which in the depraved condition of Humane Nature must needs produce many great Enormities: Lust will become a Law, and Envy will become a Law, Covetousness and Ambition will become Laws; and what Dictates, what Decisions such Laws will produce, may easily be discerned.* As for our parts, we in this Nation may easily perceive the event of such courses, having lived some years at the pleasure of a long-continued *Parliament*, who contrary to their

Trust, and the nature of a *Parliament* (whose great work is to make Laws) took upon them ordinarily to administer Law and Justice, according to their own wills, and endeavoured to perpetuate the Office of Administration in their own hands, against the will of the People: In which Acts of absolute and Lordly power, as they were followed to the heels by this last Assembly, so these exceeded them in other dangerous attempts, which extended not only to the abolition of Law, but to the utter subversion of Civil right & Propriety. For, there was a Party of men among them, who assumed to themselves only the name of Saints, from which Title they excluded all others that were not of their Judgment and opinion, and therefore seeing it is a name that shall be had in everlasting honour; we are heartily sorry to have seen it so wretchedly abused in this Age of light and godliness, as that the pretence of it hath by some men been intended for a Rise to the advantages of worldly power and glory, above the rest of their brethren.

For, what else could be the intention of those in the last House? who were no sooner met, but they would have waved the way of Call upon a humane account, and generally made pretence to an extraordinary Call from *Christ* himself, and to take upon them to rule the Nation by vertue of a supposed Right of Saintship in themselves; and upon this principle would have laid the foundation of a new platform, which was to go under the name of a *Fifth Monarchy*, never to have an end, but to war with all other powers, and break them in peeces. In order whereunto, that they might make way for this *Fifth Kingdom*, they and their party having wrested and fitted Scriptures for their turn, professed and declared abroad (and into this principle and perswasion they baptized all their Proselytes) that the powers in being were all branches of the *Fourth Monarchy*, which must be rooted up and destroyed: whereupon they took the confidence

fidence not only to aſperſe and judge whole States and Governments, and propheſie their ruine, but did, as much as in them lay, devove them to deſtruction, and thereby prepare the ſpirits of the people to imbrace any opportunity to follow them and put their deſigns in execution. So that if their deſign of ſetting up the *Fifth Monarchy* according to the dreams they had of it, had taken effect, wherein men could have had no other Right but what they muſt have derived from them and their party; it is no hard matter to diſcern how the common Intereſt of this Nation would have been ſwallowed up by a particular Faction, and what a pernicious Engine it muſt have proved to the perverting of all Order among Men; foraſmuch as by turning the ſtream of Government out of its proper channel, it would have utterly confounded the whole courſe of natural & civil Right, which is the only Baſis or foundation of Government in this world. And therefore ſeeing their deſign was of ſo high a nature, as it aim'd at no leſs than the extirpation of Law, and Government it ſelf, and of the main Rights and Intereſts of the People relating thereunto; it is the leſs needful to mention their intrenching upon other Rights which are of an inferior conſideration, as in the matter of Tythes, and of Patronage and preſentation of Miniſters to Livings: Concerning which we ſhall only ſay, that in this, as in all other things nothing of moderation would content them. It was propound d, as the more ſober and equitable way, That perſons of eminent piety and fidelity might be appointed to judge of ſuch Miniſters as ſhould be preſented by Patrons: but they would admit of no ſuch regulation, running out into the extream, & quite voted away the whole right of Preſentation. And in the debate thereof they forbore not to diſcover the principle whereby they did it, judging all men to be carnal and Antichriſtian, that differed in opinion from them.

III. As concerning the *Army*, this being the great Impediment in the way of *their Monarchy*, they were not without their designs also upon it: which not being to be contended with by any open attempt, they proceeded towards it by other methods. For, when the necessary continuation of assessments came to be debated in the House, they laboured might and main (under specious pretences) to have cast out the Bill, and so at once to have cut all the sinews of the Army and their subsistence, the only visible support of the Nations security: the consequence whereof would have been an exposing of the Souldiery to Free-quarter and disorder, and thereby the Country to rapine; all supplies must have been cut off likewise from the Navy, and our Affairs and Friends left to sink or swim in *Ireland* and *Scotland*; yea, and all this at such a time of unusual danger and necessity, when *Scotland* was unquiet, the Common-wealth engaged with Enemies abroad, and forced to an extraordinary Charge for the maintenance of our Fleets at Sea, which are as the Walls and Bulwarks of this Nation against Invasions of Forreiners. But the Bill of Assessments being past, and their intentions this way frustrated, their next method was to have alter'd the Government of the Army, and to have committed it to such hands as would have assisted them in their intended Transformation. As a preparative hereto, all Courses were taken to make the *Army* odious, the Officers aspersed with the title of *Janisaries*, and men set up in Pulpits, whose daily work was to cast dirt upon all persons in Trust and Power, in the *Army* and elsewhere, by proclaiming them to be *Pensioners of Babylon*, and the Government Antichristian: which licencious Tongues were not only encouraged herein by the presence, but assisted (many times) by the persons of some of their Patrons in the late Assembly. Nor did these men rest here: but not being able to serve their own wills and phantasies within

within the House, so easily as they desired; then they resolved to divide and separate themselves from the other Members, who followed them not in their excesses, and to constitute themselves into a Power distinct from them. To this end, they led off divers well-meaning Gentlemen of the House along with them, to private Meetings of their own appointment, upon Pretence of seeking the Lord by prayer for direction. But, to the great dishonor of God, and prophanation of his holy Ordinances, the use that was made of those Meetings by the Contrivers of them, was, only for the better carrying on of things that they had beforehand resolved to act. And in order thereto, they took liberty to arraign and condemn the persons and proceedings of their fellow-Members, and provoked others to Remonstrare and Protest against them; saying, That if the House then sitting should send for them, they ought nor to obey them: Devising also at the same Meetings, which way to prepossess all the gathered Churches in *England* by Letters, and with Reports of their own to scandalize the Government in the opinion of our Brethren in those Churches, whose Liberties we tender as our own in the Lord, and for whose satisfaction this Discourse is chiefly intended; endeavouring thereby to lead aside the godly of the Land into mistakes and offences. And when they could not obtain a general consent to write unto the Churches, because many of the Meeting perceived the evil of this business, it was left to every mans discretion to write as he should see cause and occasion. Besides all this, direction was given at a Meeting, to pull down some of the great Officers, and put others in their places; thereby to create such discontents and emulations among the Souldiery, as would probably have divided and embrued them in each others blood, and exposed them and the whole Nation for a prey to the common Enemy.

Things being at this pass, and the House (through these proceedings) perfectly disjointed, and the two parties wound up to such a height of animosity, that they were as much divided, as if they had been people of two distinct Nations, mutually contending for each others Rights, it was in vain to look for a Settlement of this Nation from them thus constituted; but on the contrary, nothing else could be expected, but that the *Commonwealth* should sink under their hands, and the great Cause hitherto so happily upheld and maintained, be for ever lost, through their preposterous management of those Affairs wherewith they had been trusted. And therefore the major part of that Assembly being convinced, that they could sit no longer, without incurring the guilt of that destruction which was coming on the whole Land, did upon the 12. day of *December* 1653. by subscribing their Names to an Instrument in writing, resign up their powers and Authorities to his now *Highness* (then Captain-General of all the Forces of this *Commonwealth*) in these following words:

December 12. 1653.

Upon a Motion this day made in the House, That the sitting of this Parliament any longer as now Constituted, will not be for the good of the Common-wealth; *and that therefore it was requisite to deliver up unto the Lord General* Cromwel, *the Powers which they received from Him, These Members whose names are underwritten, have and do hereby resigne their said Powers to his Excellencie.*

Which

Which being done, and thereby all power of Government devolved upon the General, as Head of the *Army*, it was neceſſary to take ſpeedy conſideration, in what Form to diſpoſe the Government. To have continued it in a Military way, had been dangerous; and inconſiſtent with the Freedom of the People, and by conſequence to have inthroned power and force above Law, and left both the inſtituting and executing of Law to the arbitrary diſcretion of the Souldier, who being girt with both Swords of War and Civil Juſtice, would be apt to miſtake, and draw the one inſtead of the other, to execute his own will in place of Law, without check or controle, having all force at his own diſpoſition; which muſt have introduced very great inconveniences.

To have returned back again to *Repreſentatives*, as the *Parliament* had propounded in their *Biennial Bill*, and ſo to have governed theſe Nations by *Parliaments* alwaies ſitting: not onely clear reaſon, but experience evinceth, that neither Safety nor Liberty could be expected therein. Parliaments always ſitting are no more agreeable to the temper of this People, than it is to a natural Body to take always Phyſick inſtead of Food: For, the prime end of the Parliamentary conſtitution is, to make Laws, and redreſs grievances. Now it cannot in reaſon be imagined, that becauſe the great Body of the People may ſometimes abound with ill humors and diſtempers, therefore it ſhould be perpetually under the hands of it's Phyſicians: This may ſooner kill than cure. The ordinary preventive phyſick in a State againſt growing maladies, is execution and adminiſtration of law and juſtice which muſt be left to its Officers; but Legiſlation or the power of Law-making is then properly exerciſed, when they are grown to a height and have need of ſtrong purgation; which if conſtantly uſed, vitiates the Complexion, enervates the natural vigor, and fortifies the diſeaſe by a more abundant acceſſi-

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on of pernicious humors. What Common-wealth that hath but a face of civility, can be supposed to have People of so forlorn a disposition at all times, and things so continually out of order, that it will require a perpetual application of new Laws for remedy? Which if admitted, would in a short time require some Ages to read over innumerable Statutes, and reduce the business of Law to as bad condition, as it was in the *Roman* Empire before the days of *Justinian*, when by long tract of time the Laws were swoln into so prodigious a heap of intractable volumns, that the Law-professors themselves were oppressed under the weight of them, as well as the People. And as to what concerns us here in *England*, we were fairly coming on to the same pass; so many Laws having been ordained the last Parliament, that our *Gentlemen of the Robe* know very well what ado there is to reconcile one Law and Ordinance with another, how incongruous they are in respect of themselves and in reference to many ancient Laws which immediately concern the Liberty of the People. So that had they been left to their own will to have sat ordaining as long as they list, a few years more would have mousted the Statute-book above the reach of a Students purse, and advanced it to the size of an antient *Livie*, which was held sufficient of it self to set out a whole Library; by which means the Sense of Law could never have been extricated out of endless Intanglements, but being lost in the Labyrinth of its own Bulk, it must have proved a miserable vexation both to Lawyer and Client. These would have been the effects of ever-sitting Parliaments in point of Law-making. But as to an assuming to themselves also a distribution of Law and Justice, it is a thing not to be once named among a free People, whose security lies in having an easie open way of Appeal, in case of wrong done by Justicers; which can very rarely, or never be had against the Injury of so supream a Court as a Parliament, it being the highest. But admit they were

account

countable ever to the succeeding Parliament, yet when all is done) it would be a hard matter to question so great a Body, a course very ill-beseeming the dignity of Parliaments; and as difficult a point to pick out Offenders, a way too much reflecting upon the liberty of *Parliament*, which lies in a freedom of Debate; and this every man will challenge, and say he did but speak his Judgement, if any one should be called to account for promoting an unjust *determination*. Nay, put case that particular Offenders of this kind could be singled out of the House, for all this, the people would be very desperately to seek of remedies against their arbitrary Dictates, because those great moliminous Bodies of Parliaments are but slow in motion, and attendance will quickly exhaust a good purse and patience, before any thing can be done; the truth of all which we well knew by experience, through the continued Session of the late Parliament. Where Law is dispensed, there should upon occasion of injury be a ready passage to redress against the Dispensers, or else as good be without any Law at all: But this cannot be expected from continual Parliaments, and therefore as they were never intended for executioners of Law (it being the peculiar Tasks of inferior Courts) and as there is no need, but very great inconvenience that they should be busied still in framing Laws, which is their principal work; so it must of necessity be granted, that their perpetuated sitting in the Nation, would have been unnecessary, dangerous, and its most deplorable grievance.

Lastly, to have called again particular persons to the Supream Government, in the way last taken by erecting the late Assembly, the evil thereof was too notorious and fresh in memory, and therefore dangerous to venture a splitting upon that Rock again, which had been but newly escaped. We, and all the People, had need beware of that mistaken principle, which had like to have devoured

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the common Interest of our Nation. For, we cannot yet but admire at these mens open and violent avowing this Point of State-heresie; *That Godly persons, though of small understanding, and little ability of mind in publick affairs are more fit for Government than men of great knowledge & wisdom, if endued onely with natural Parts, and moral Vertues*; Whereupon they are too apt to think, that none ought to be intrusted in Government but godly persons or such as are Saints by calling, who shall have immediate assistance from God suitable to their work. But alas, our late experience hath sufficiently taught us, that God works not now in any such extraordinary way, but hath left the world to be ordered by the moral improvement of natural Endowments and Faculties. The business of Government is not conversant about the inward graces and Qualifications of men, as men of Faith and justified persons, but is wholly terminated in works of the outward man; It being purposedly ordained for a terror to evil doers, and the praise or encouragement of them that do well, according to the light of nature, and dictates of the natural Conscience; which summs up the main duty of a Christian Magistrate, who ought to keep himself within these Bounds. And it is so far from the intent of Christ, that his Sheep should be folded within the Walls of a Supream Authority, that he plainly told his Disciples, and us in them, that *his Kingdom is not of this World*; whereby he totally discountenanceth that worn *Tenet*, long since exploded, but now revived by these men, *That temporal Power and Authority is and ought to be founded in grace*. A thing so little minded by *Paul*, and so far from the thoughts of the rest of the Apostles and Penmen of the New Testament, that men as Saints might claim a Right and Title to become Governors and Princes, that they are bid rather to arm themselves with patience for Tribulation and persecution, as their portion in this world, and to think rather of praying for Kings and Magistrates, counting it sufficient

ent if by prayer they might obtain so much favour under them, as to live a quiet and peaceable life. The knowledg of God in Christ was never given forth to govern the world, but for more high and noble ends; as to live in communion with God, to bridle and quench a mans lusts and disorderly affections, and to subject the whole inward man to the Rules of another, even a spiritual Kingdom. It is a thing indeed to be wished, that Governors might always be endued with the grace and the knowledge of God in Christ, added to those great gifts of moral vertue, Wisdom and Prudence, because it puts a lustre upon them all, and makes the Government very beautiful; but Grace (though mostly accompanied with some measure of those gifts) doth not necessarily qualifie gracious men alwaies with an excellencie of discerning in matters of a Civil nature; for, we see many rich endowments of Understanding, Justice, Fortitude, patience, &c. in others (which many believers have not) whereby they are fitted to rule men of several Tempers and Passions, and to fore-see the consequents of things by reason, and in a natural way; which is the only means ordained by God to rule the world, who hath left the whole Frame of nature here below to be regulated and disposed by the natural man. And therefore whenever the Magistrate runs out of his sphere to act upon other grounds, or when men shall assume Magistracie to Themselves, upon any such ground (as aforesaid) beside that of natural and civil Right, they not only lay a Foundation (as we have lately seen) for imposing upon mens consciences, and severe persecution, but do (as much as in them lies) proclaim war against all men besides their own Opinionists, cancelling the very Rights of Nature, together with all the Bonds of civil society.

Nor must it be forgotten here, what a Rock such men are ready to rush upon, who shall endeavour to twist the Spiritual and Civil Interest both in one, and so make

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the Church and State of the same extention, as they do who hold that none ought to be in Authority but Saints by calling; for, in this there is a recurring to the very Papal and Prelatick principle. Upon this notion the *Pope* first set up himself, and the Prelates after him, adding the Temporal Authority to the Spiritual, and so made the Kingdom of Christ to be of this world, as those poor deluded souls do, who lay the Foundation of their *Fifth Monarchy*, upon the same carnal Supposition.

Wherefore upon these, and divers other considerations, it was agreed to come to some such solid and certain course of settlement, as might hereafter barr up the way against those manifold inconveniences, which we have felt under other fleeting Forms, and reduce (us as near as may be, with most convenience) to our ancient way of Government, by Supream Magistrates and Parliaments And of this nature is the form now established, and already made publick.

But to the end that this may be made clear and manifest, we shall in the next place discourse somewhat concerning it in general, and then descend to particulars. In general, we say; that as this last Change hath been made upon the same grounds of reason and equity, that necessitated all foregoing changes in the outward Forms, and was admitted of absolute necessity to save a sinking Nation out of the gulf of misery and confusion, caused by the changeable Counsels and corrupt Interests of other men, who violated their Principles, and brake the Trust committed to them: So none of those former alterations did so truly make good, or so fully provide for the security of those great ends of Religion and Liberty, which were as the blood and spirits running through every vein of the Parliament and Armies Declarations; so that though the *Common-wealth* may now appear with a new face in the outward Form, yet it remains still the same

same in Substance, and is of a better complexion and constitution then heretofore.

If we take a survey of the whole together, we find the Foundation of this Government laid in the People. Who hath the power of altering old Laws, or making new? The people in *Parliament*, without them nothing of this nature can be done; they are to be governed only by such Laws as they have chosen, or shall chuse, and not to have any imposed upon them: Then, who is to administer or govern according to those Laws, and see them put in execution? Not a person claiming an hereditary Right of Soveraignty, or power over the Lives and Liberties of the Nation by birth, allowing the People neither Right nor Liberty, but what depends upon Royal grant and pleasure, according to the tenor of that Prerogative challenged heretofore by the Kings of *England*; under whom, if the Commonalty enjoyed any thing they might call their own, it was not so much to be esteemed a matter of Right, as a Boon and effect of grace and favour. But the Government now is to be managed by a Person that is *elective*, and that Election must take its rise originally and virtually from the People, as we shall fully evince by and by, in particular, and shew that all power both *Legislative* and *Executive*, doth flow from the Community; than which there cannot be a greater Evidence of publick Freedom.

Again, as this Person is not to exercise his Power by a Claim of Inheritance, or by vertue of any personal Right over and above the people; so it is a thing that he is to receive only by way of Trust, for their benefit and protection; and the power he is invested with, is not to make him great and glorious, otherwise then in order to the peace and advantage of those that are governed by him; whereas the Kings of this Nation pretended alwaies, and maintained an Interest of their own, as they were Kings, distinct and superior to that of the

People

People; which they called their own, as much as any particular man can call his houses or Lands his own, wherein he hath a personal propriety, And as they did not hold themselves to have come in by the People, so neither did they conceive themselves obliged to govern otherwise than for their own greatness: And although this Doctrine had bin broached in some later Books & Prints, *That Kings were not for themselves but for the People*; yet the Courtiers laughed in their sleeves at it, and we know it was esteemed heretical by the King and his Abettors. Nevertheless, how often, and in how many Declarations did the Parliament promise to make him a great and glorious King! and were content to have imbraced him in such a posture, in case he had harkend to their desires & demands! Whereas now the Terms of Glory and Greatness are omitted, and a ground-work is laid to make the Nation great and glorious, and our chief Magistrate so, no otherwise than may be conducing to the same end: So that it will appear the Government is sufficiently popular, the ancient Liberties of *England* not only secured, but enlarged; and that although the *executive power* be placed in a single person, yet it stands upon a fairer account than in former times.

But let us proceed now from Generals, to touch upon some of the Particulars in the said Establishment; where we find, that all the grand Acts of Soveraignty are either immediately, or influentially, lodged in the People; not onely such as they claimed of right in the time of Kings, but such as they never made any demand of.

I. The first and great Act of Soveraignty lies in the *Enacting*, and the *altering* or *annulling of Laws*: which is expresly provided to be in Parliament, and not otherwise (save in some Cases, and that onely until the sitting of the next Parliament, the reason whereof will appear by and by.) And that the exercise of this Soveraign Power by the people,

People may not by any means be avoided, sure provision made likewise for a continual succession of Parliaments, it being done with such care and circumspection, that the very circumstances of Provision are sufficient to induce a perswasion, that the whole Establishment was made with an aim at the publick Good, and not fitted for the greatning of any particular Person. Which will farther appear by the following considerations.

I. Consider what care is taken for a succession of Parliaments. A Parliament is to be called every three years at least, not leaving it at the pleasure of the chief Magistrate, to do it or not to do it; but other persons, in case of his Failer, are impowr'd and required to issue forth Summons without him; and that under the penalty of High-Treason. Which Provision is agreeable in some sort to the *Triennial Bill*, passed in the beginning of the last Parliament; and that at such a time, when the Nation was justly sensible of their own Rights, and when they never dreamt of a perpetual Parliament, nor of ever-sitting Parliaments, but desired only a convenient succession of those Supreme Assemblies: And the same desire was often iterated by the Armie, in their Remonstrances and Declarations.

2. As to the Constitution of Parliaments, it must be observed; That the Elections of persons to sit in *Parliament*, are distributed in all Counties, with more equality and proportion than heretofore, according to what hath been often declared, and propounded by the Army; as also that full provision is made to prevent Frauds in Elections, and false Returns. And whereas the liberty of Electing is restrained only to such qualified persons in each County, whose Estates real or personal are valuable at the sum of 200l. and they declared capable to elect Members to serve in Parliament; let it be considered, that the liberty of that kind is drawn forth to a greater latitude, than in the dayes of Kings, when this

Privileg was exceedingly curtailed, and communicated to those alone who were called *Free-holders*, as if they only had been the men that ought to be free: But now we conceive it is circumscribed with such prudence and caution, and it sits neither too streight nor too loose, to the Body of our Nation.

3. If we consider what persons are to be elected, as well as to elect, we shall find a very Christian moderation used therein. Care is taken that such persons shall not be chosen, who were in Arms against the *Parliament* after the year 1641. unless they have been since in the *Parliaments* service, and given signal Testimony of their good Affections thereto; by this means to prevent a bringing into the Supream Councils, those who have so lately declared themselves Enemies to the Cause of God, and the true Interest and Liberty of the People. But yet, there being hope, that such men may in time, by living under a free Government, drink in better principles, that incapacitie is determined after three succeeding *Triennial Parliaments*, except they be *Roman-Catholicks*, or such as have been Partakers with the barbarous and bloudy Rebels in *Ireland*. And to the end the Qualifications to be observed in Elections, may not become void, a power is reserved in the Council, to judge and approve of such as shall be elected, before they sit; which Power is to last but for the three next Triennial Parliaments. And this doubtless is a much better means, to keep out of the Parliament, men disaffected to the true interest of this Nation, and thereby secure the Cause so long fought for, than that which a party in the late Parliament seemed to resolve upon, *viz.* to perpetuate themselves for ever, and thereby keep out all others who might call them to an account, exposing the publick to hazzard for their own private security; as if the safety of the Nation had been bound up in their particular persons. So that as on the one hand, a fitting provision

provision is made, to preserve at present, the Power and Reins of Government, in the hands of those who have approv'd themselves faithful in the late great Controversie of Freedom and Liberty; so on the other hand a just and probable foundation is laid for extinguishing all animosities, and putting into oblivion the memorie of all those Feids and divisions contracted by Civil War; not onely by admitting such to Government, who of enemies are already become fast friends, but by limiting a time, after which all distinctions of this nature shall be taken away, whereby through the blessing of God, the people may be harmoniously disposed to a lasting peace and settlement Which things were all particularly declared for by the Army, in the year 1647. upon the like grounds and reasons.

4. The Power of Parliaments is now such, that beside what former Parliaments had, for the examining and rectifying of exorbitances, calling Officers to account, *&c.* they may by the present Constitution, make and repeal Laws of themselves; by which means, that unlimited prerogative of a *Negative Voice*, the Darling of our Kings, a principal Flower of the Crown (as they accounted it) and a thing which the late King contended for, is now utterly abjured, and provision made, that in case the *Lord Protector* do not sign such Bills as shall be presented to him, within twenty days, then afterward they shall of course become Laws, as full and effectual as if his Assent to them had been obtained.

5. Lastly, Consider the continuance or duration of Parliaments, and it is provided they shall not be adjourned, prorogued, nor dissolved for five months space, without their own Consent; whereas every one knows what was claimed, and always exercised by the Kings of *England*, to wit, a Power of dissolving Parliaments at their

pleasure: But now the Liberty of Parliament is settled in that particular, and secured against arbitrary and momentany Dissolution, it being impossible for any to dissolve them, without their own Consents, before the appointed time: which being consider'd, together with their absolute Power of Legislation, in the manner here expressed, we suppose there is nothing that can be thought of, for the Freedom and prosperity of the People, which may not be effected by the *Parliament*, though the *Protector* should not give his Consent thereto.

1. But if in reference to this of *Parliaments*, it be Objected; That in the Twenty fourth Article, a *Negative Voice* is placed in the *Protector*, as to whatever is contained in the said Establishment, and that in the twelfth Article, the Members Elected are by their Indentures, to be debarred from altering the Government, as it is declared to be in a single Person and a *Parliament*; and that thereby the Supream Power is limited and restrained in things most natural to their trust & employment, It is answered, that though it be not of necessity, yet it were a thing to be wished, that Popular Consent might always, and at all times have the sole influence in the Institution of Governments; but when an Establishment is once procured, after the many shakings and Rents of civil Divisions, and Contestings for Liberty, as here now in *England*, doubtless we have the greater reason to value it, being purchased at the price of our bloud, out of the claws of Tyranny; and we conceive it highly concerns us, to put in some sure *Proviso*, to prevent a razing of those Foundations of Freedom that have been but newly laid; especially in such an Age as this, wherein men are very apt to be rooting and striking at Fundamentals, and to be running out of one Form into another; and when it is found also, what advantages the Common Enemy hath made by our being in the condition of a *Floating Island*, through neglect of

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any certain settlement: Which being considered, it was high time, some Power should pass a Decree upon the wavering humors of the people, and say to this Nation, as the Almighty himself said once to the unruly Sea; *Here shall be thy Bounds, hitherto shalt thou come, and no further.* Now this necessary course for settlement is no more, than what was formerly agreed on by the Army, in their great Remonstrance from St *Albans*, upon the like grounds of reason, and upon such another occasion; wherein you may read the like *Proviso*, for tying up of Representatives or *Parliaments*, to the Form of Establishment then intended. Nor can it be reputed otherwise than most reasonable and necessary, after so great Commotions and Confusions by Civil War, as have been in this Nation; forasmuch as in such Cases, it is very rarely to be expected or imagined, that a Government can be erected in the way of Consent by the people; and it being most needful, that some Government should be; and of unavoidable necessity, that some should set down the Rules of it; and that men should be tied to those Rules, unless we would always be altering and shifting of Settlements, and so live ever in distraction: Therefore surely, as this Restriction to the present Form, is (considering the state and temper of Affairs) most undeniably necessary, as the onely course to keep us from wandering any more in the Maze of our own Contentions; so it is no new thing in the world, nor without example from the Army it self; even at that time, when they were by some men reputed most pure, and sincerely devoted to the principles of Freedom.

2. Again, it may perhaps in the second place be objected, That whereas twenty days time are allowed to the *Lord Protector* to deliberate upon such Bills as shall be presented to him for his consent by the *Parliament*, therefore this seems to intrench upon the wisdom of *Parliament* (which is the wisdom of the whole Nation) as if they

would not be well advised of such Bills as shall be intended for Laws. But for Answer, we must have recourse to the wisdom of our Ancestors touching this particular, who doubtless might think themselves as wise in worldly matters, as succeeding *Parliaments* may be; yet we find they used great deliberation in passing all Laws. And thus much was signified to us by the reading a Bill so many times, the Committing, and the Ingrossing it, with divers other Ceremonies used; which were to no other end but to stave of the hasty and precipitate nature of man from falling upon the rocks of any rash Conclusions, in matters of so high importance: And therefore upon this account it was that they thought meet to allow the Supream Magistrate likewise a time of deliberation, that when he passed his Assent, he might do it as a Man upon grounds of proper Judgement and Reason; it being presumed, that He being in all things assisted by a Councel, might perhaps have some Reasons to offer, not unworthy of consideration, conducing to the regulation and amendment of particulars in things presented to him. Hence it was, that of old, when the King thought it needful to deliberate upon matters of that nature, his Answer was, *Le Roy Aviser*a, that is, *the King will advise*: And this was pleaded to him by the late *Parliament*, as the antient Prerogative of the Supream Magistrate, in opposition to his Plea for a *Negative Voice*. And therefore, seeing this limited time of deliberation can no more derogate from the wisdome of *Parliaments* hereafter, than it was thought to do in elder time; and whereas the Reason holds now as strong as ever (if not more) for avoiding heady determinations in grand Affairs, whereof the last *Parliament* gave us sad experience (Laws having been made and unmade in an instant, and like imperfect Embrio's, still-born, or else strangled as soon as brought into the world) We must needs therefore be of opinion, that the *twenty days time* of deliberation reserved unto the *Lord Protector* upon the like

like occasions, cannot be any prejudice to the wisdom of Parliament, but rather tends very much every way to the advantage of them and the Nation.

3. If it be in the third place objected, that the Limitation of the sitting of *Parliaments* to the time of five Months is an imposing upon them: We would fain reason out the matter with such men, and desire them to consider, that unless we would have *Parliaments* sit ever, there must needs be an intimation of some certain time for them to rise, and wherein it may be required of them; for otherwise there is a dore left open for a perpetuation of particular persons in soveraign power: And how unapt men are of their own accord to part with such power, when they have got it once into their hands, how apt they are to corrupt like standing Pools, and contract an arbitrary distemper in execution of Law, & what miserable inconveniences must follow thereupon, we, and all the people of the Land can tell by too sad experience. We would not seem hereby to bring an ill report upon *Parliaments*, nor undervalue them to the world, because of some miscarriages of the last, knowing they are the best and most proper Physick to cure the diseases of the Nation; and therefore it was well said of the *Observator* (a man much for *Parliaments* at the beginning of the War, and one whose writings were highly prized of the *Parliament*) *that Parliamentary government should be used like Physick, by the intermission of due spaces of Time, and not as Diet*; otherwise, by too long use it will corrupt and destroy instead of curing the Body: So that we see there is a necessity of having Intervals, or times when *Parliaments* are not sitting. Now consider also, the great fault of the Kingly Government in this respect was, that seeing no convenient time of sitting was fixed as a Boundary, to keep off an overflowing will and prerogative from intruding upon *Parliaments*, and

breaking in upon them by violence. Kings took upon them to dissolve them at pleasure in a moment, yea many times as soon as they were met, and before the least redress had of the Peoples grievances: And therefore the prudence of the present Government hath so well temper'd all ingredients in the constitutions of *Parliaments*, and provided so far, that, as Physick, they may have a certain due time alotted for opperation (which before they had not) and for five Months space not be adjourned, prorogued, nor dissolved without their own consent. Wherein seeing there is a sure provision made against an immediate arbitrary Dissolution, with an implicite Reserve, and a clear intimation that they may sit much longer, and as long as the necessities of the Nation shall require; and seeing when *Parliaments* shall have had their courses a while, five months space will be found a fair time for redress of grievances, and supplying other publick necessities that may happen in the short Intervals (wherein also a new *Parliament* may be called, out of the usual course, if there shall be extraordinary occasion;) seeing also that the way of Government in free Nations is not to be accommodated unto Schemes of Freedom which lie in melancholy contemplation, but must be suited to that Form which lies fairest for practical convenience, and avoiding inconveniences, for the ease and safety of the People; and lastly, seeing it is a far less inconvenience, that *Parliaments* should be limited in time, rather then sit as long as they please, and there can be no Inconveniences here where a competent time is fixed, but it is (all things considered) a very great convenience: Therefore, setting one thing against another, we conceive, there can be no detriment accruing unto Parliaments by such a limitation of time and conferring all these things together, we suppose less danger to be feared from a power of Dissolution thus qualified, and but tacitly reserved in one person,

and

nd that perſon accountable for abuſe of ſuch Power;
han that *Parliaments* (who are, we ſee, no more privi-
dg'd from error than *Popes* and *general Councils*) ſhould
e left to perpetuate themſelves as they pleaſe, and con-
ſequently to do what they pleaſe, being, as long as they
ep their Seats, unaccountable perſons. The ſum of all
hen that hath been ſaid, amounts to this; That there is
nqueſtionably as great a neceſſity, there ſhould be ſome
et time for the diſſolution, as for the calling of *Parlia-
ments*. And truly, ſo much was implied in all the Decla-
rations of the *Parliament*, before they thought of perpe-
tuating themſelves. And if you remember, in the year
1647. the like time of limitation (though not the very
ſame) was intended by the *Propoſals* of the Army; upon
the expiration whereof each *Parliament* was to have diſ-
ſolved of *courſe, if not otherwiſe diſſolved ſooner*.

Having thus concluded that part of our Diſcourſe,
which relates to the Succeſſion and Conſtitution of *Par-
liaments* in all particulars, and made it evident therein,
that the firſt and greateſt act of Soveraignty, which con-
ſiſts in the Point of *Law-making*, is reſerved entire in
Parliament; and having alſo removed out of the way
the moſt material Objections, we ſhall now proceed to
the ſecond.

II. A ſecond grand Act of Soveraignty is the diſ-
poſal of the *Militia*; concerning which it cannot but be
remembred, that the King chalenged an abſolute power,
in and over it, to himſelf, as his ſole Right, excluſive and
independent of the *Parliament* at all times. The *Parli-
ament*, they denyed this, and affirmed, that his power o-
ver it was but by way of ordinary Truſt; and that in
times of extraordinary danger and neceſſity, when he
neglected to perform that Truſt, then Themſelves were
to ſecure the *Militia*, and put it in execution, as being
more immediatly intruſted on the behalf of the people:
And

And it must be remembred withall that the utmost of the *Parliaments* demand of the *Militia* was but for a time, and the only ground of their demand was upon an unusual occasion. But now, that Claim of the King (upon which he founded the main of his Quarrel) is wholly waved; and its expressly declared, that the *Lord Protector* shall dispose and order the *Militia* or Forces both by Sea and Land, while the *Parliament* sits, only by Consent of *Parliament*, and in the Intervals of *Parliament*, with the advice and consent of the major part of the Council. So that you see, the peoples Parliamentary Interest in the great business of the *Militia*, is avowed and confirmed. And in case any thing shall be done hereafter concerning it, in the intervals, by the Council, that may be matter of miscarriage, there is a way of rectification and remedy left open, in the succeeding *Parliament*.

III. A third Prerogative of Soveraignty is the *making of War & Peace*; and that by the constitution of this Government, is not only to be manag'd with the advice and consent of the Council, but is communicated also to *Parliaments*: For, in case of future War with any Forrain State, a *Parliament* shall be forthwith summoned to advise with concerning the same. Which is a Priviledg, that never was demanded by the *Parliament* in the *Nineteen Propositions* (supposed the highest demands) that were made at first to the King, nor in any of their first Declarations, but alwaies admitted to be in the King.

IV. A fourth Act of Soveraignty is the *Imposing of Taxes and Payments*; and this is wholly reserved to *Parliaments*; it being fit, that those only who are in immediate Trust from the People, should have the Command of their purses. And whereas in the thirtieth Article of Govern-

Government, there is a clause reserving a temporary power in the *Lord Protector*, with the Consent of the Council, to raise Money for preventing the disorders and dangers which may otherwise fall out; it must be observed, that as this is no more but what is of pure necessity, and to continue only till the sitting of the first Parliament; so it is much less than what was propounded by the Army in the year 1647. when the like power was desired might be given to a Council or Committee, in the Intervals of Parliament.

V. The Fifth Point of Soveraign Power is, the *Highest and last Appeal*, which is retained likewise in Parliament.

VI. The Sixth and last point of Soveraignty is, the *Power of Creating and disposing Magistrates and Officers*; which we are bold to say, from the highest to the lowest, is still placed either expresly, or implicitly and ultimately in the hands of the people in *Parliament*, as we shall make evident anon, when we come to treat of the several Articles relating unto that particular, the consideration whereof will very fitly fall in at the close of this Discourse, as its more convenient place. In the mean time, seeing these Acts of Soveraignty are all comprehended within the Walls of a *Parliament*, we must undeniably conclude, that as this Government now established, answers all the Primitive demands that were made by the *Parliament* to the late King, as the means to make this a florishing Nation; so it exceeds them in many particulars, for preservation of the Freedom, common Interest, and safety of the people. Thus far then, we suppose it appears, that we stand firm to our Principles.

But to proceed; The next thing we are to take notice of in this *Government*, is, That it fully answers likewise the main ends of the *Parliament* & Army, in reference to matters

ters of *Religion*; wherein the Rights and Liberties of the people are as duly fenced and provided for, as in all the principal Points of civil Interest & Freedom. For it may be remembred, that the great care of the *Parliament* was (excluding ever licentious and blasphemous Opinions and practises) to make a Christian provision for the Liberty of tender Consciences; They made in their business to protect and countenance Religious men and Godlines in the power of it, to give freedom and enlargement to the Gospel (for the increasing and spreading of light in this darksom world) & thereupon to remove all superstitious and corrupted Forms that were opposite thereto: Which things were indeed the proper Subject of that religious Reformation intended by them, and which hath bin often declared for by the Army. In conformity to which blessed and most Christian design, we suppose a special regard is now had to all the Interests of Gods people, with *the Maintenance of the Ministry, the Confutation of Error and Heresie, the extirpation of Popery, Prelacie and whatsoever is contrary to Godlines and sound Doctrine*; as you may see in the 35. 36. 37. and 38. Articles of Government. And whereas in the 36. and 37. Articles it is intimated or implyed, that there is a Publick profession intended to be held forth by the Magistrate, and that the Profession so held forth shall extend both to Doctrine, and Worship or Discipline; whereupon some persons do object, that this is contrary to the Principles formerly owned by the *Army*: We return this answer, That whatever the private Judgements and opinions of many particular persons in the Army may heretofore have bin concerning this matter, yet the body of the Army never declared themselves either against the Magistrates power in matters of Religion, or that the Magistrate might not hold forth a publick Profession of Doctrine and Discipline; but we find the quite contrary clearly implied and expressed in their *Declarations* and *Proposals*. For, in their *Proposals* they found fault

fault with nothing of that nature, but moved onely for the taking away of all *Coercive power*, Authority and Jurisdiction of all Ecclesiastical Officers whatsoever, extending to civil penalties upon any; and for the repealing of all Acts imposing penalties for not coming to Church, or meetings elsewhere, *&c.* And in that Declaration of *June* 14, 1647. (which may serve once for all) they clearly disclaimed and disavow'd any design to overthrow all Church-Government; ouely desired, that according to the *Parliaments* Declarations (promising a provision for tender Consciences) there might some effectual course be taken answerable to the intent thereof, and that such who upon consciencious grounds should differ from the established Forms, might not (for that) be debarred from the Common Rights, Liberties, or Benefits belonging equally to All, as men and members of the Commonwealth, while they live soberly, honestly, and inoffensively towards others, and peacefully and faithfully towards the State. Which Judgement and Resolution of the Army at that time (which some men are pleased to call and account the time of their Virgin-innocence and purity) exactly squares with the Intent and Frame of the present Government in things of Religion, as it is set forth in these Articles. And therefore seeing it never was any Principle of the Army, that the Magistrate should be deprived of that power, whereby he is principally inabled to fulfil the most noble end of his Magistracie (and in comparison whereof all other Ends are of an inferior value;) And seeing it is a duty incumbent upon the Magistrate, to provide for the Civil peace, and to prevent fore-seen evils and inconveniences growing upon the Commonwealth, tending to Confusion; Observing also what advantages have been made by the Popish party both at home and abroad, through our want of some Settlement in Religious matters, and what occasions have thereby been given to subtil heads and carnal minds to display innumerable

numerable parties and Factions under the banner of Religion, spreading abroad most blasphemous Opinions in defiance even of the holy Scriptures, and of God the *Father*, *Son* and *Spirit*, to the dishonour and scandal of our Christian profession; And finally, it being manifest, that in these things men do make shipwrack of Faith & a good conscience, for worldly ends and advantages which they propound unto themselves; not only to the apparent hazard, vexation, and disquiet of the Common-wealth, but (as much as in them lies) to the licentious subverting of all Order and Government; therefore we conceive it is high time for our Governours to lay a healing hand to these mortall wounds and breaches, by holding forth the Truths of Christ to the Nation in some solid Establishment, and not quite to lay aside or let loose the golden reins of Discipline and Government, in the Church; but yet to order them in such a way that they may not tie up all mens Consciences, who profess Truth in sobriety, to any one particular Form, nor be laid as snares and chains upon conscientious and zealous men (as it was wont to be in the daies of Popery & Prelacy;) the sum of all that is intended by way of Coercion, being only to restrain such as shall abuse their Liberty to the Civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the publick Peace, or such as under the profession of Christ hold forth and practise Licentiousness.

The next considerable in the Government is, the way of maintenance for the Forces both by Sea and Land, & this is to be done by a constant yearly Revenue. The set number of Land Forces to be kept up, is Ten thousand Horse and Dragoones, and Twenty Thousand Foot, which doubtless is but a competent number for the defence of three such Nations, as *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and they are to be maintained with part of that Revenue: the rest is to be expended in a convenient number of Ships for the Guard of the Seas;

And

And in case there shall not be cause hereafter to keep up so great a Defence at Sea and Land, then the money saved thereby, is to remain *in Banco* for the publick Service, and be imployed by consent of *Parliament*; which, questionless, being seriously ponder'd is a most excellent Provision, and such as will not only give us credit and esteem among our Friends abroad, but strike Terror into our Enemies, when they see the Government continually fortified with the sinews of War, by a constant Revenue for that purpose, and with this grand advantage also of a publick Bank or Treasury upon all occasions. And though the great benefit and convenience of this cannot be seen and felt, till God please to free us from the present chargeable Occasions; yet when these necessities shall (through his blessing) be over, and an opportunity given, that the Land-Forces (which in Field and Garrison within the three Nations are now at least 80000 in number) may be reduced to the setled proportion, and the Nation begin to enjoy some measure of Peace and Settlement, it will be found a great ease unto the generality, that the Common-wealth shall (as it will ordinarily) by this means be enabled to defend it self, offend enemies and assist its Allies and Confederates upon a publick Stock, without imposing any Taxes or Payments extraordinary upon the people. And surely it will be far less burthen for the Commonalty to contribute thus in small parcels yearly, towards the publick Bank and Revenue, than to be assessed at great sums, whensoever the Government shall have necessity to raise monies upon great occasions, to wage War, or for the defence of these Nations.

Then as for the Two hundred Thousand pounds *per annum*, which is to be setled over and above, it is not for the support of the *Protector*, or to be taken for the private use of any particular person or persons whatsoever, but

to

to be employed (as may be seen in the 27. Article) in defraying the Charges for Administration of Justice, and other Expences of Government: *viz.* for paying the Salaries of Judges, and other Officers belonging to Courts of Judicature, the necessary expences for carrying on the publick business in all the three Nations, the entertaining Ambassadors here, the sending out Ambassadors and Agents, *&c.* into Forrain parts, the relieving of maimed Soldiers, and many like chargeable uses. All which considered, it will be found (we fear) too small a sum for such a Work; especially seeing the single expences of the late *Council of State* amounted to above one hundred Thousand pound *per annum*.

The last and great point of Soveraignty and concernment to the safety and benefit of a *Commonwealth* (which we touched a little before) is the *Electing and disposing of its own Magistrates*, or the great Officers of State; and we find in the 34. Article, that the *Chancelor, Keeper or Commissioners of the Great Seal*, the *Treasurer*, *Admiral*, *Chief Governors of Ireland and Scotland*, and the *Chief Justices of both the Benches*, are to be chosen only by approbation of Parliament; which answers fully to former desires of the Parl. and Army. And as to what concerns the *Council*, though the Election of them be not directly & immediately, yet virtually & ultimately it is in the People in Parliament, & must flow indeed originally from them in time to come. For upon the death or removal of any Member of the Council, the *Parliament*, are to nominate six persons of ability, integrity, and fearing God, out of which the Major part of the Council shall elect two, and present them to the *Lord Protector*, of which he shall elect one, to supply the vacancy; So that if an unworthy person be at any time chosen, it must be the Parliaments fault, who have the power of making the first choice, and consequently of limiting both the *Lord Protector* and the Council

fil in the main; as also of preventing any corruption, which either of them might otherwise be guilty of in this particular. Moreover, in case any Member of the Council shall prove corrupt in his Trust, then seven Members of Parliament being joyned with six of the Council, are to judge of the business, by which means, whatsoever the case be, the Parliament hath the casting Voice, and greatest Vote in the Judgment. Thus the course of Election is stated for the time to come.

But as for the *present Council*, and the election of them in the way it hath been; It must be remembred, that we were in the begining of a new Government, necessitated to create a little World out of *Chaos*, and bring Form out of Confusion; so that there was an absolute necessity, that some who are known to be persons of Integrity, and firm for the present Settlement, should at the same instant be taken in, to carry on the work: which can be no ground of just exception, especially seeing for the future, Elections shall run in the appointed channel, where their streams are to flow from the people, as their original Fountain. Yea, the high Office of *Protectorship* it self is to be derived also from hence; and as in time it will appear, that the People in *Parliament* have the main choice of the Council, so they will likewise be Chusers of the *Lord Protector*: For, it being left to the Council to chuse Him, and they hereafter coming to be chosen and intrusted by the Parliament, it cannot otherwise be conceived, but that the Choise of Him takes its rise mediately from the people in Parliament: because as whatsoever a Parliament doth, is said and taken in a political sense to be the peoples act, because they are chosen and trusted by the people; so in like manner, and upon the same political account, when the Council comes to be chosen by Parliaments, as is before expressed, then the Act of the Council in chusing the *Lord Protector*, must by a parity of Rea-

son be reputed the Act of the people in Parliament. And so you see, in effect, mediately or immediately, the election of all Magistrates (both high and low) are, or will at length, by this constitution of Government, be in the hands of the people.

Lastly, as to what concerns the Office of *Lord Protector*, it is to be observed, that no man is to be admitted to that Dignity upon the Interest of Himself or Family, but meerly upon the account of his Fitness for Government; it must pass, not by Inheritance, but Election. And certainly, it is a great advantage to a Nation, that the coming in and continuance of their Governor depends onely upon his own goodness, and the good will of the people, as it is in an *Elective Prince*, who standing upon Terms of good behaviour, will be continually employed for the benefit and defence of the Community. And therefore if it shall please the Lord to bless this Commonwealth (as we trust he will) successively, with a choice of godly persons into that high Office, it is easily foreseen what an advantage it will be to these three Nations, to have their whole strength and Force combined thus under one head, for the safety of all; this Form being (without question) the fittest and most convenient for the Magistrate to put things on, and in quick execution (as his proper work) for the publick good; as also what a comfort it will be to all the godly in the *Protestant Churches* abroad, who may have ground to expect some more sure and certain Protection from *England* than heretofore; which as it is the greatest Body, being united with *Scotland*, so it will prove (we hope) the grand Bulwark of the *Reformed Religion*.

Moreover, as touching the Person, whom the Lord hath now advanced and set over us to be our Supream Magistrate, We shall not say much, because he seeks not the

the praise of men; onely we believe even the enemies will confess, that he is every way worthy to Rule, whom God hath been pleased to use as his Instrument in that Glorious Work of Redeeming the Liberties of his People: For, we are bold to say (weighing all circumstances together) that this Nation was never really Free, nor in a way of enjoying its Freedom so fully as now; so that there wants nothing but a cordial Close with the Government, to destroy all hopes of the common Enemy, and compleat our happiness. But if men shall yet proceed to lengthen their own burdens, by hankering after that Family which God hath cast out before us, or by an unnatural seeking to embroil their Countrey again in bloud and misery, for the sake of that accursed Interest, as we are loth to suspect such a thing, and can hardly imagin that any should be so forlorn and desperate after so fair a Composure: So we think it necessary to reclaim such persons, if any there be inclined that way, by laying down these few Considerations concerning that Person and Familie which pretends to the Government of these Nations.

1. It is a Family that hath worn the Marks and Badges of Gods high displeasure for almost these hundred years: The weight of which vengeance hath fallen upon, and hitherto sunk all their Partakers; the particulars whereof being in every mans view, and many of them fresh in observation, we shall not here enumerate.

2. If we reflect upon the Person of the *young Pretender*, he is by bloud almost a stranger to this Nation, being by the Mother a *French-man*, and now unquestionably such by his education in that Court, where he hath always before his eyes that pattern of absolute Power which bewitched his Father. Besides, he is a man of

Bloud, having involved himself in the guilt of all that innocent Bloud which was spilt by his Father, and hath added more to it since, to fill up the measure of that Transgression.

3. His Religion (if any) is at best, you know, but a devotion to Prelacy (which was bequeathed to him in Legacie) having forfeited his Oaths to the *Scottish Nation*, and all his other pretences of Religion there, before ever he left the Countrey. What profession he owns in *France*, is hardly visible, but his Mothers Instructions, the urgencie of his necessities disposing him to imbrace any thing, his dependance upon forrain Papists, his frequent known applications and promises to the *Pope*, by special Agents employed to *Rome* for that purpose, and to the *Emperor*, his Alliance to, and Combination with *Popish* Princes, being put all together in the balance, is ground enough to believe him sufficiently affected, if not sworn to popery. For, if he have any promise of assistance (as perhaps the *popish* party may now combine, seeing we are for a settlement of true Religion) it is to be presumed, those persons will not be forward to re-invest him here; unless they may together with him restore the *Roman-Catholick* Interest and Superstition.

4. The great and vast Debts that he hath in all this time contracted abroad (should he return hither) must all be discharged out of the purses of this exhausted Nation.

5. Consider the desperate Crew of forlorn Fugitives, Forrainers, and Papists, that he must bring along with him, which will like Locusts devour the whole Land before them; for, their insatiable Appetites must all be served, and great Rewards must be thought of for his Leaders

Leaders and Followers; so that his Return will be so far from being a remedy or relief of Taxes, that the Nation it self will be too little for him and his.

6. The manifold Revenges and Cruelties that are to be expected: No mans life, no mans Estate can be secure: There will then be no distinction of Parties, and every small Compliance with what hath passed, every the least word shall be made Guilt enough, and ground enough (if he please) for Death and Confiscation.

7. Lastly, an arbitrary uncontrolable will and power to put all these things in execution: For, if he ever get in by the Sword, he becomes at the very instant as absolute as the Grand *Seignior*; and will then be fully inabled to accomplish what his Family had long projected, *viz.* the inthroning himself upon an Interest of meer will and power, against the common Interest of the people; by which means our Lives and Liberties, our Wives and Children, our Estates and Fortunes, would all be exposed as a sacrifice to the boundless ambition and cruelty of a race of Tyrants; it would enervate the natural vigor and courage of the people, and exceedingly debase the Honour of this Free Nation.

Let us ruminate then a little in our hearts touching these things, and behold the great hopes and blessed benefits of Security and Freedom that we have, and may shortly enjoy under the Government, as it is now established. The Quarrel for hereafter is not between two Persons contesting both for a Crown; it is not the Interest or Grandeur of any single Person, or particular Family, that is contended for on our part: But if ever the Enemy should (for our sins) arise to the possibility of a future Contest, remember what it is he fights for, and what must be the wretched Consequents of his prevail-

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ing; remember also what we of this Nation are to stand for, the preservation of our Religion, our Liberties, and all that is dear and precious among men, which appear plainly to be imbarqued in the great Bottom of this present Establishment. If we falter, or be mis-led through phant'sie, or if that fail through our default, we are immediately swallowed up by Tyrannie, and have nothing left to do, but to put our mouths in the dust, and sit down in sorrow and silence for the glory of our Nation. Moreover, if on the other side any opposition of male-content and refractory men should (which God forbid) arise at home here among our selves, the like Confusions will follow, the effect wherof must needs be a straining up the Pins of Power, to spoil the harmony of Government, and a constraining men, for necessary preservation, to fence themselves in such a manner as they never intended.

Having therefore a fair and Noble way of Administration provided, under which men may live in a plenary enjoyment of their Liberty as Christians, and their rights as Men; we do not, we cannot in any measure doubt (though we thus expostulate the matter with our Friends and Countrymen, and lay open those great inconveniences and dangers before them) but that we shall find a ready and chearful concurrence from all sober persons; and have ground chiefly to expect it from all the people of God, though of different Judgments, seeing equal Liberty is given to them all (without just offence to any) and the principal care is for preserving true Religion, and the countenance of its Professors. We, for our parts, have done our duty, in declaring the grounds of our Judgment, and know we have therein discharged a good Conscience, in answer to all the Ends of our first Principles & Engagements, believing we shall find comfort in it in the day of our Account: For, when we look back upon

on what is done, we find nothing that ſtares in our faces; and if there could have been imagined any better way of Settlement, we ſhould have imbraced it with the ſame ſpirit of ſubmiſſion: But here we ſee our Friends have taken in the good of all the three ſorts of Government, and bound them all in one. If War be, here is the Unitive vertue (but nothing elſe) of *Monarchy* to encounter it; and here is the admirable Counſel of *Ariſtocracie* to manage it: If Peace be, here is the induſtry and courage of *Democracie* to improve it. And whereas in the preſent Conſtitution, the *Legiſlative* and *Executive* Powers are ſeperated; the former being veſted in a conſtant ſucceſſion of *Parliaments* elective by the People, the latter in an elective *Lord Protector* and his Succeſſors aſſiſted by a Councel, we conceive the State of this Common-wealth is thereby reduced to ſo juſt a Temper, that the Ills either of ſucceſſive Parliaments, furniſhed with power both of executing and making Laws, or of a perpetual Parliament, (which are Diviſion, Faction, and Confuſion) being avoided on the one ſide, and the inconveniencies of abſolute Lordly power on the other; the Frame of Government appears ſo well founded on both ſides, againſt Anarchie and Tyrannie, that we hope it may now (through the bleſſing of God) prove a ſeaſonable Mean as for the better defending theſe Dominions againſt emies abroad, and promoting our Intereſts in Forrain rts, ſo alſo) of peace and Settlement to this diſtracted tion; and be of a durable continuance to ſucceeding es, for the glory of the moſt high GOD, the advancent of his Goſpel, the protection of his people, and the efit of Poſterity.

FINIS.